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CITIZENSHIP IN AN ENLARGING WORLD

HON. JOSIAH WOOD
M.A., D.C.L.

THE JOSIAH WOOD LECTURES, 1928

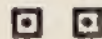
Citizenship In an Enlarging World

By

SIR ROBERT FALCONER

K.C.M.G.

President of the University of Toronto



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JOSIAH WOOD LECTURESHIP

The following comprises the main portion of the deed of gift from the Honourable Josiah Wood, D.C.L., dated May 28, 1925.

As we grow older there is a danger of looking back on our early days and considering them much better than the present; but even the optimistic will admit that in recent years spiritual and moral progress has not kept pace with material advancement.

Since the infirmities of my advancing years have obliged me to live retired at my home in Sackville, and I have been largely confined to the house, with leisure to read the papers, I have been surprised at the wrongdoing and crimes that have been almost daily recorded in them. I have been impressed with the fact that the stern integrity of our fathers has been gradually weakened, and in many cases has entirely disappeared. Occupations and pleasures which, in their days, would have been regarded as wrong are without hesitation indulged in. In business, profit is the first consideration, and little thought is given to the moral character of the transactions. Indeed wilful fraud, and deliberate crime have been frequently discovered and exposed.

When I was a member of the Canadian Senate I did not draw all the money to which I was legally

entitled. I did not then intend that it should be taken from the public treasury. During my retirement, however, I have felt a desire to do something with this money which would have a tendency to lessen evil, and to benefit society generally. In this way it seemed possible to make this money practically useful. Upon mature reflection it has appeared to me that to establish a foundation for a lecture course in connection with Mount Allison University at Sackville will meet my views. The principal is to be invested and to be kept invested in securities which are at the time legal investments for trust funds in the Province of New Brunswick. The income is to be appropriated, partly as an honorarium for one or more lectures each year, and partly in the printing and distribution of the lectures. The lectures shall be delivered by men of high standing and exceptional ability. The lecturer shall be free to deal with his subject as he thinks best, keeping in mind the fundamental idea for which this foundation is established, namely, to impress on our students and citizens generally the absolute necessity of honesty and honour, of integrity and truthfulness, of an altruistic public spirit, of loyalty to King and Country and of reverence for God; in short, of all those virtues which have long been recognized as the very basis of the highest type of citizenship. I desire that a copy of the lectures be given to each student and Professor in the University and a copy be sent free to every University library in Canada. Other copies may be sold, in so far as there is a demand for them.

My desire is to assist in carrying out the purpose which the late Charles F. Allison had in mind in

founding an Educational Institution in Sackville. These lectures are, therefore, always to be delivered in connection with the Foundation there bearing his name. The President of the University with the Treasurer of the Board of Regents and one other appointed each year by the Regents shall be trustees who will be responsible for arranging the lectures year by year and carrying out the terms of this bequest. This trust shall be known as the Josiah Wood Lectureship.

SIR ROBERT FALCONER
K.C.M.G.

I.

SHIFTING AUTHORITY

T IS not easy for a late-comer in the field to say much that is fresh upon the subject on which that high-minded Canadian citizen, Senator Josiah Wood, provided that these lectures should be given. At most one may hope to be able to re-emphasize old and approved truths in such a way that they will arrest the attention of a few of those in our universities who are about to enter upon their fuller duties in the life of this Dominion.

Of recent years, thoughtful people have pondered much upon the shortcomings of democracy, and immediately after the War disillusionment went so far that not a few dreaded the collapse of Western civilization. Indeed, a writer in a recent English review expresses the opinion, that

"To-day all our younger intelligentsia are pessimists, who repudiate a belief in progress, regard social and political idealism as dangerous chimeras, and so on. They have little

hope for the future, and strive, with indifferent success, to derive as much satisfaction as possible out of the present. At best, they are epicureans; at worst, materialists."[1]

This is a sad comment, much too sad, I believe. Should such a view of life prevail in the educated circles of Britain, the idea of progress has been short-lived. It was late in arriving, having been proclaimed in France in the seventeenth century, and already these pessimists seem to think of civilization as being on one of the retreating cycles which are supposed to make up the monotonous history of mankind. Some intellectuals, having been swept from their moorings by the shattered fragments of old beliefs, have no chains long enough to find good anchorage in the universe.

But we Canadians are more buoyant, and we may hope that most of this despair was induced by war-weariness and that the phase is on the wane. With the majority of healthful persons we believe that the threatening clouds are passing; we see men resuming their wonted ways of life, and, therefore, we may in a more reassured frame of mind appraise our present needs. That is not to say that the surface of

[1]*The Modern Churchman,* October, 1927, p. 408.

society is at rest. There are still tremors here and there, and from time to time there is a record, distant or nearer, of some convulsion. But in our own area the manner of life is calmer than it was, and, therefore, we are able to analyze our situation more dispassionately than a few years ago.

In general, it would appear that one of the most far-reaching causes for the changed conditions of our society has been the shifting of authority. Spiritually we are living in a new age, and in the transition the War was but an episode. For a century philosophers, scientists, theologians and statesmen have devoted a great deal of attention to the basis of authority, and have had acute problems thrust upon them in practice because the old foundations have been seriously undermined. Church and State have been separating in most European countries, the sanctions of supernatural religion have been weakened, the social order has been overthrown in large areas, even individual morals have been transferred into the realm of the contingent. The change of atmosphere has affected the whole world, but until the last quarter of the nineteenth century Western civilization was so divided into

national compartments that the same problems were not acute in all countries. England was provincial, knew little of the continent, and was self-centred, though London had attracted very many brilliant men of letters and science who were leaders in the new age, and Edinburgh had not imperilled its claim to be one of the intellectual capitals of the English-speaking world. Germany, Italy and France were involved in their own struggles, political and ecclesiastical, and Paris, with its wonderful clarity and boldness of thought, still assumed that it was the centre of European culture. On this side of the ocean what was called the New World was new only in so far as it had potentiality and a future. Before the Civil War, Boston, Philadelphia and New York had cultured coteries which were centres of literary and scientific output, but intercourse with Europe was intermittent, and comparatively few of its leaders in letters, philosophy or science crossed the Atlantic. This continent as a whole was in the pioneering stage; the mass of the people kept to their own settlements, undisturbed except when some bold stranger thrust himself in and uttered pregnant words which caused no little agitation among

those who hated to have their repose intruded upon.

Early in the nineteenth century the scientific spirit arose in its strength and openly challenged what was left of mediævalism in its strongholds both in Church and secular society, and much besides. As far back as the thirties, John Henry Newman was watching the advance of liberalism with fearsomeness, though in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge the innovators were then relatively few and met much indifference. Contemporaneously, there began to spring up a powerful literature of revolt; Darwin's theory soon was followed by Herbert Spencer's philosophy and by the "higher" criticism of the Scriptures. The biographies of men of the Victorian age are full of echoes of vital controversies. What was called Radicalism in politics and society caused much uneasiness in established circles, a reminder of which occurs in the recently published letters of Queen Victoria. Referring to Bright and Chamberlain, whom Gladstone had in his ministry in 1880, she wrote:

"The Queen is as sincerely liberal in her views for the improvement of her Empire as anyone can be, but she is *sincerely* and *deter-*

minedly opposed to those advanced, and what she must call destructive views, entertained by so many who, unfortunately, are in the Government."

How Fortune's wheel turns! To-day two of Joseph Chamberlain's sons are leading members of a Conservative cabinet.

On the continent, especially in France, democracy has been anti-clerical, even anti-Christian. Speaking for a large portion of the intellectual society and most influential press, the Minister of Education, M. Viviani, could say in the House of Deputies in Paris, as late as 1906: "We have extinguished the lights in heaven, lights which none will ever be able to rekindle." Though the War has softened antagonisms, it is still true that the average educated Frenchman has revolted against authority in almost any form, and has taken a vague conception of progress to guide him.

Some persons still remain who can recall what Canada was like before Confederation. Of political disturbance there had been plenty during the preceding generation, but no similar change had accompanied it in the mental and moral world. Our fathers were very much what their fathers had been, and so on back to

the arrival of the loyalists. They were conservative socially and mentally. When they got charters from Britain for their universities, they sought such privileges as would preserve the *status quo,* and they hoped to keep them as bulwarks behind which their youth could be protected against revolution of every kind. The chief new contribution they made to society was the winning of responsible government for colonials. In spite of bitter controversies, internal and external, the intellectual atmosphere of our educated classes was sluggish. Though Huxley and Tyndall applied for chairs in the University of Toronto, they were not chosen; they remained in London and made some bishops uncomfortable.

The people of our English-speaking provinces were homogeneous in character. Social distinctions were slight. Such as they were, they were determined by church or political party. In so far as they existed, they were summarily expressed by segregations according to more or less rigid rules of conduct. Liberal and Tory, Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist had similar fundamental convictions for their ideals and practice. Even the Roman Catholics did not differ much from Protestants

in respect of the moral code. The latter professedly accepted the Bible as their infallible rule of faith and manners, though all did not deduce from it precisely the same standards of living. The Sabbath-breaker was rare; the man who took his whiskey, some thought, had not much chance for the Kingdom; divorce was almost unknown; such "free-thinkers" as there were would be very mild heretics to-day; not even socialism, much less communism, had begun to threaten things as they were.

But it would be historically untrue to praise those former days as being all sunshine, and futile to long for their return. The letters of early clergymen make sad reading. In the country, the villages, the cities, among farmers, sailors, soldiers, there was much drinking, loose-living, filthy language, gambling; housing and hygienic conditions were often so bad as to make the transmission of disease woefully easy. The sheep were conspicuously separated from the goats, though sometimes a sheep with a thin and smutty fleece got penned in too hastily by public opinion among the goats. Our present generation, notwithstanding the War, is far freer from most of these evils.

The common school and the churches both have raised the character of the communities.

The world, outside of their own, which our forefathers knew best, was the New England States and New York, especially Boston and New York City. A good many had travelled in the Old Land, and more read its journals and magazines and took their ideas from it. A few daring spirits had tasted the pleasures of Paris, Germany and Italy. Briefly, this was the comparatively simple life that was lived in the English-speaking provinces, mainly unchanged for nearly three generations.

The situation has been transformed almost beyond belief. We, who in our childhood were isolated in small and homogeneous communities which had remained intact so long, have in the recent decades found ourselves in the midst of a movement of population such as could not be paralleled in centuries. The tide first rose upon the shores of the United States, and foreigners from Europe flooded its eastern harbours and estuaries. As the old American saw his harvest of ideals on the banks bowing their heads beneath the swirl of the tidal wave, he wondered whether it would carry away his inner dykes and submerge even his home.

A few years ago, while being driven from Springfield, Mass., to Amherst, I was told that this original settlement of New Englanders had been abandoned to Portuguese and Greeks, who were raising onions and tobacco instead of the old farm products. What fears such immigration has engendered is indicated by the enactment of the quota regulation on the basis of the census of 1890.

I am concerned with the United States because they are our influential neighbours, and conditions similar to theirs will surround us more tardily and, we hope, in lesser degree. But their influence has been quickened by reason of the motor car, and comes in every day through the air on the radio. Our movies and theatres, the comic papers and other periodicals, even the daily press are moments of great power for establishing in the minds of our average people the standards of living and thinking that prevail south of the border. The boundary line does not mean such a difference in moral and spiritual atmosphere as it once did, and currents of thought, diverse in racial and cultural origin from our own, sweep over this continent, and tend to disintegrate our former authoritative basis of life.

Nor is the influence confined to the cities. It is felt also in rural districts and small towns. In the North-West large areas are occupied by families alien to both English-speaking and French Canadians. They may be good farmers and thrifty folk, but they have not our traditions and, at least for a generation, our ideals will not be stabilized on their old foundations. Thus in East and West, in city and country, international influences have been playing upon Canada, especially since the decade before the War when the immigration rose to its height.

Then came that elemental experience which threw our country violently out into the world, and forced her to take a new and prominent place among the nations. The position accorded to Canada in Geneva at the League is only an indication of the internal change that has been going on ever since August, 1914. It is impossible to estimate the surgings of thought which moved tumultuously in the breasts of the half million of our young men in the catastrophic sufferings of those years. They were under the necessity of living in hideous trenches and of being themselves, or seeing their comrades, blown to bits in a war

which was brought on by leaders of a previous age. The war was none of their making: they only had to die for a cause which they had to take up as a pledge. Was this ghastly miscarriage not due to the falseness of the ideals of Western civilization in the nineteenth and twentieth century? At any rate, their value was no longer self-evident. And what about the Churches which had proved impotent to prevent the tragedy? Did they speak with any authority whatever during its course? In Germany, England, America, Canada, did they not all become at once so identified with the national spirit that it was impossible for them to interpret authoritatively how essential Christianity could be reconciled with the war? In the nature of the case, ministers being average men, perhaps it could not have been otherwise. But, assuredly, the Protestant Churches of the world lost authority because they were pitted against each other in hostilities.

The most far-reaching effects brought about by the War were in Russia, where an old regime disappeared and was replaced by another in which the social, moral and religious orders were reversed. Still the reverberations

of that overthrow are being heard throughout the earth; and the end is not yet.

But now the scene has changed to the Orient, and in China authority has undergone its most violent dethronement. Nationalism as there exhibited is one manifestation of a world-wide movement which has been greatly accelerated by the War. Whereas in Italy it has taken the form of heightened discipline through the Fascisti, led by Mussolini, in China it has shown itself in confused voices contending for supremacy over those who have abandoned their old loyalties. A few decades ago, China was unified in reverence for its past under the doctrine of Confucius by three loyalties—loyalty to the family, loyalty to the teacher and loyalty to the throne. First came the overthrow of the old dynasty, and the banishment of the idea of monarchy: then came the overthrow of the literati, who had been held in the highest honour, and who had, through a toilsome process, transmitted in the classics the ideals and wisdom of China's past: finally came the disintegration of loyalty to the home. Along with these has disappeared, we are told, much of the integrity which was, in the view of the foreigner, characteristic of the Chinese

merchant. Whence came the impulse which has occasioned these mighty changes? It had a Western origin. When the doors of China were thrown open to receive traders from the West, through them also went out thousands of young Chinese students to explore the universities of the West. Especially large was this exodus after 1904 when the literary examinations were abolished. As many as forty thousand studied in Japan: but thousands also in the United States, and smaller numbers in Britain and Europe. A few years ago, an eminent Chinese gentleman told me that some of the most powerful ideals now dominating the younger mind of China had been derived from the radical side of French thought. All these students came into contact, directly or indirectly, with Western civilization and, on their return, they brought home with them the seeds of revolution along with the hope for a new day for China when her government would be democratized, her educational system modernized, and her economic situation ameliorated. But, though the student trained abroad has to take the responsibility for most of this change, so far he has not been able to bring order out of the chaos, nor to substitute

a new authority for the former loyalties on which the Chinese character has been built. Poor China has become bemired on the road to progress.

This survey shows that the disintegration of the foundations of authority is a world-wide phenomenon. Immemorial beliefs, which seemed to clothe the soaring human mind as solidly as snow fields cover the summits of the Alps, have been loosened by unprecedented changes in the cosmic atmosphere, and have descended like destructive avalanches upon the dwelling-places of men in the valleys.

This may be a season for avalanches, but there is no likelihood of mountain sides giving way. The whole face of human society will not suddenly become a dissolving scene; fundamental morality will not be permanently buried by landslides. The great changes that transform the surface of the earth are as a rule gradual, the detritus of centuries or millenia. So in human life: nations are not created in a day. Both Russia and China are evidences of this fact, for they had been already in a state of unstable equilibrium. They were prepared for revolt. Whereas those countries which had been inoculated by the ideals of freedom,

democracy and individual liberty have suffered least in the recent epidemic, which, like the influenza after the War, has taken a heavy toll all over the globe. In England, a prophylactic series of injections took place during the nineteenth century, and the United States has been too absorbed in its material prosperity to be open to violent attacks.

The process of change has been peculiarly difficult for the individual. Often he could not diagnose the strange situation nor recognize that a change in the standards of authority did not involve the negation of authority itself. Particularly hard was it for the young man who forty years ago was transferred from the narrow and protected environments of the Canadian provinces to the vivid and challenging class-rooms of Europe. He was brought under the spell of a broader and deeper culture which it would be blind obstinacy to resist. Quickly a change passed over his thought and manner of life, but every now and again the former views and ideals in which his conscience had been shaped reasserted themselves violently, and he asked himself whether he was throwing his old loyalties away and losing his manhood. If faith in his past went

by the board, what justification had he for hoping that the newer culture was more than the convention of a different society? It became a part of his education, therefore, to maintain his integrity by reincarnating his old ideals in a richer life which itself would refine and enlarge them. Above all things, he must not let his ideals themselves go. Nor did this struggle cease after one bout. How often the old man rose up to bring discomfort to the new man, almost unbraiding him with disloyalty to the shades of his fathers: deeply ingrained modes of thought and practice reasserted themselves once and again as fainter yet very real elements in the conflict between two phases of the same self. Every young man knows how difficult it is to withstand the customs and ideas that prevail around him. By nature we are conformists. If we live in a society that is teetotal, we are likely to be the same: if we live in an Oxford College, we readily adopt the practices there in vogue. The average man does little thinking and is more affected by manners than by principles, so that, having accepted the ways of life of his new neighbours, he discovers, after the lapse of years, that they have worked unconsciously

upon his inner life and even changed his ideals. But if we have had the good fortune to be brought up in a home where there was a strong belief in the distinction between right and wrong, and if we inherit the tradition of a moral end in life as imperative, the slow changes that must come through a powerful and attractive new environment will not wreck our self-respect. That past itself will be an ideal which will be purified by the new experience. We despise those who forget their past, because they show thereby that the present is little more to them than a mass of unstable conventions. It is one thing for him who is to the manner born to use the accent, the dress, the customs, even the religion of a fastidious society; this is the given framework within which his character is fashioned. It is quite another thing for one thrown into it from outside to adopt easily its mannerisms, prejudices and enthusiasms as his own. What is good in the new, the higher culture, will in the finest natures gradually displace the old, and experience, the master workman, will tone into softer and more delicate curves the deep lines of character which were engraved in the

earlier home years on a substance of genuine worth.

Some of the novels of a school-boy contemporary of mine, now well-known in the world, take as their theme the irresistible assertion of high-bred society over the child of revolt. In youth, the scion of a family with traditions is a free lance, even finds a reasonable and satisfying love in the affections of a girl of a lower stratum in the social order; but as the years pass the buttressed and fortified traditions of his family with so many privileges and amenities stand up before the prodigal, and slowly but steadily he turns his steps in the direction of the ancient towers, the spreading trees, and lawns tended for centuries, and soon he disappears within the precincts of his ancestral traditions. Every historic institution has this constraining power—the English nobility, wealthy families whose sons have been educated in historic schools, the profession of the law, the church, even medicine. And the individual conforms to their standards.

This malleability of character under social pressure is a fact which we all have to take into account. Though existing in all circles, it is

most evident in those long established where tradition is strong. In the course of years conservatism subdues the young radical. Modern psychology—using the ugly word "behaviourism"—makes this widespread human characteristic the ground for explaining nearly everything by environment and inheritance. Standards are assumed to be external; they shift; there is nothing objectively real in them; their values are only for the moment while they are powerful. But there is another side to this. Everybody does not drift. Some have their anchors down. They may swing with tide or current, but they do not drift. A few turns of the windlass bring the anchor up; and this is done by human command. Then the whole scene changes. The banks, the trees, the houses, the men and the women seem to be passing by; the view is rapidly shifting. But it is not the banks; it is the ship that is moving, and, unless direction is alert to get her under way, she will soon be ashore or tossing helpless in the open. When once the anchor is up, the only safety is in the captain and the crew, who will either set the sails so as to control the drift and use the wind to drive her at the steersman's will, or in the engineer

who can bring another internal power into counteractive play. Just so it is in life. One who is captain of his soul has the skill to manœuvre and use forces for making progress.

Shifting though authority has been, nevertheless the more important fact is that authority itself continues to exist. Our British nature constrains us to believe in the dominance and permanence of law. Moreover, in spite of all that is often said to the contrary, there is now a more intelligent apprehension of law on the part of the people than ever before.

But in our democracy it is of supreme importance that all those who are invested with authority should so act as to increase the popular respect for it, especially all legislators, lawyers, judges, governors—those who create and those who execute laws. There is no longing deeper in the human heart than that for justice; it is an appeal for right as against wrong, for the oppressed as against the tyrant. One often marvels at the patience with which the ordinary man in the street maintains his respect for the law when he reads some arguments, or listens to an overbearing judge exercising his unchallenged authority on the

bench. The unjust judge and the cynic and the satirist are next of kin to one another. The first acts upon his own likes and dislikes; he does not criticize his own judgments in modesty. The satirist also scoffs at the standards of the average man, and the cynic points the finger of scorn at the gap between profession and practice. But none of them seeks to discover a possible soul of good in things evil. Wordsworth speaks of

> "Blind authority beating with his staff
> The child that might have led him."

What a picture—the old man lashing out in all directions against those who will not minister to his caprice. When the fit is over, he may be calm, but is still blind and ignorant of the fact that he has no intrinsic right to authority, and that it is merely his passion or his force which breeds a "witless fear" of him in the hearts of the ignorant and helpless. Throughout literature, the unjust judge or the tyrant prince has been an evil omen. He has been the parent of revolt.

Some of those to whom I speak may get positions of influence in the creation and administering of law. Let me bid you

remember that you will then become trustees for authority and that your conduct will establish or weaken it in the popular mind. All true authority springs from personality. This is no modern idea but is inherited, as are so many of the best things in our civilization, from the thinkers of old Greece, and from the people who had worked out practically a sane view of life. They accepted as their leader the authoritative person, not the tyrant. And the difference lay just here: the tyrant forced himself upon his community, men were subjugated to his capricious will; their true leader was a reasonable, equitable individual who won their respect, and whom they gladly followed, because he opened up to them a rational, stable order. He understood how reasonable people should act, and how things came to pass in human society. He, therefore, had initiative. He was a source of power, but of power because he was able to infuse harmony into human life. This interpretation of the basis of authority among that very reasonable people, as it is given by Dr. J. L. Myres, Professor of Ancient History in Oxford, in his *Political Ideas of the Greeks,* is illustrated by a quotation from another

great thinker who died last year, Baron von Hügel:

"The soul at its deepest is ever profoundly original, isolated, active, daring, interior, penetrative. And official Authority is, as ever, repetitive of something past and gone: is the voice of the average thoughts of the many: aims at limiting the actions of its subjects to a passive reception of its commands: is essentially timid. . . . Officialism of some kind or degree is inevitable if we would make a reasonable, continuous provision for applying the motive force and light of the leading, stimulating, renovating few (i.e., of the pioneers) to the dull, average, more or less automatic many."[1]

But where are those authoritative, original souls to be found who will lead the people into new realms and at the same time change them from being a mere crowd into an ordered society? Surely among those educated in our universities; from them should come thoughtful, brave persons who, by reason of their training and their character, possess initiative and gently but firmly point those about them to the paths of life, wisdom indicating the direction.

[1]*Hibbert Journal,* January, 1928, p. 212.

IN AN ENLARGING WORLD

In periods of shifting authority such as we are now passing through, we need men and women who will firmly abide by standards, who will insist that life is not a trackless forest, that roads do lead through it, and that by following them we shall not be lost. Institutions may cease to be as authoritative as they were, but if there are enough thoughtful persons of high character they will steady society during the transition. Such leaders must understand the past, and realize that the world is no longer young, but that we are the ancients, that we have been served heirs to the wisdom of the ages. In our new world we often speak and act as though wisdom began with us, being deluded by our efficiency in acquiring riches into the cocksureness that we are sufficient unto ourselves. Yet with all our getting we may have missed the riches of the spirit. Here we lack most of all the authority that comes from tradition. As individuals, we are endowed quite as well as the Europeans, but in Britain, for example, tradition is a background for the individual; it supports him, usually all unknown to himself, in his manner of life; the culture of the race transmitted through centuries is a law above him; the wis-

dom of his people expressing itself as a compelling authority speaks through him. Silent evolution slowly changes the surface of society, as in the seasons the forces of nature change the face of the earth; revolt dies away baffled. To the people of our origin we are debtors, and we hope that the essence of their older and richer culture will be re-embodied in the tradition which we are in the process of making.

It is, therefore, of primary importance that we should have a large number of persons of high moral and intellectual culture who will not live unto themselves as a reserved and critical intelligentsia, but who by sympathy understand the deepest things in the life of our people, and who will make themselves authoritative guides and become the chief citizens because they can discern and sincerely set forth even a fraction of the law of "normal conduct among reasonable and humane people." As long as we have in the State the Universities and the Church leaders whose character has been formed on the standards and wisdom of the past, we need not fear the shifting of authority. The changes that must come will be for the better.

Let me close with the words of Mr. Baldwin to the Canada Club in London, in November, 1927. "I left England as a tired man wearying perhaps of that spirit in Europe which had been so prevalent—that spirit of hopelessness and grumbling instilled into the ears by young and old of all nations." . . . But he was refreshed by the optimism of youth which he found everywhere in Canada, and his last words were these: "Maintain the values, maintain the standards, and may the prayer of Canada always be the prayer of the old Greek sailor which has been preserved for us by Seneca: 'O God, you may save me if you will, you may sink me if you will, but whatever happens, I will always keep my rudder true.' "

II.

THE REALIZATION OF FREEDOM

REEDOM, like the Kingdom of Heaven, is a pearl of great price, which for millenia eager merchantmen have been seeking. Time and again the jewel has lain hidden, and mankind has been deluded with counterfeits; but when discovered anew it has brought distinction to its possessors. Of all the eager merchantmen the most successful have been the Greeks, the Hebrews and our own Anglo-Saxon fathers. To modernize the comparison by substituting the diamond for the pearl, it may be said that each of these peoples, on discovering the jewel for its own time, has cut upon it a new facet and brought out greater brilliance.

It is a misnomer to speak of the epochs of Greece and Rome as "the Ancient World." In reality, the New World dawned with the arrival of Greece. Ancient history covers at present the comparatively silent millenia of

Babylonia and Egypt, those corridors of time still lonely to us, which were already ancient when Athens flourished, but made possible "the glory that was Greece." With her began a world that we can understand; from her sprang ideas which are still the most dominant in our civilization. The men of Athens and Ionia rejoiced in a free and rich existence in an environment of beauty, and without fear they allowed their intellect to roam at will and search out the secrets of their universe. "Greek reason at its best," as Professor Butcher said, was "not a mere intellectualism watching the world from a study, with keen dispassionate eyes, but an ardent desire, reaching out into all provinces of life, and seeking to reshape them in accordance with itself." In the reasonable soul of those restless, versatile, inquisitive people of a "lay spirit" humanism awoke, and, except for some centuries of somnolence, it lives on to-day.

In his fine study of the political ideas of the Greeks already referred to, Dr. Myres said:

"The Greek ideal of life was a high one, nothing less than independence, in its two aspects of self-sufficiency and self-mastery,

reasonable control over 'external goods' and physical circumstances, and self-control no less guided by reason in the corporate enjoyment of the fruits of co-operative effort."

The Hellene believed that there was a "right way" for things, their *nomos* which we translate *law*. Things that were not in the right way the genuine citizen, with his feeling of *aidos* or *self-respect*, did not do. This reasonable order of nature and society became authoritative for the "grown-up" sons of the family, those able to take care of themselves; and the purpose and process of education was to train the youth to become the *liberi* (as the Romans said), in the community of a free state, to acquire such an equitable view of life that they would be masters of themselves, dutiful to their neighbours, and approved stewards of whatever fate might commit to them.

In the use of the term "lay spirit," Professor Butcher displays his usual insight into the Greek genius. As opposed to the priestly system of Egypt in which all life was dominated by hieratic orders, the Greek enjoyed a "lay" environment. To us the word is also very significant. It implies the quality of the

unregimented people. The priest or ecclesiastic, the barrister or solicitor, the surgeon or the physician are all regularized in their orders. They think in accordance with their principles; they act in the spirit of their professional ethics, and these doctrines and etiquettes are often rigid and even severe. But the layman in respect of each circle is a free lance. He can think without bringing down upon himself charges of heresy in Church, at the Bar, or before the Medical Council, because he has not taken the oath to obey the tenets of the respective craft.

So were the Greek people among the nations of antiquity. Willing and able, as few have been in history, to assume the direction of their own way of life, they took the responsibility of marking out a new path for themselves. They read for themselves the stars in their heavens, they set their compass and they used the winds to bring them forward on their course. The classical ages have been those in which a break has been made with tradition and the world has got a new start; and one of the most enduring of these began when Athens was at the height of her glory. But within half a millenium that world had begun,

as Professor Gilbert Murray said, "to lose its nerve." It ceased to be the courageous inspirer of new forms of thought and art. It lost its "proud joy" of effective work in the present, and fell under the spell of the mysteries of the Orient.

Then, from another quarter, swept in a new creative energy like a mighty quickening wind —the spirit of the Christian Gospel. Far back in prophecy were the sources of this new faith, almost contemporaneous with the most potent centuries in classical Greece. The genius of the prophets was as inexplicable a gift to the race from the Hebrew mind as were the poetry, philosophy and art of Athens and Ionia. But the prophet was too often a voice crying in the wilderness. He was a layman, and before long the ecclesiastic and the lawyer buried his living word so deep under codifications of conduct and doctrinal prescriptions that it ceased to be a factor, and for some generations there were no lay voices. The long silence was broken by John the Baptist. Then came Jesus, the greatest layman of all, with freedom for the soul of man. In the simplest words He called the oppressed and the poor of the earth who had no helper. With

authority He cleared a channel through the accumulations of tradition, and opened up the old sources of prophecy which He purified and sent forth in a full flowing stream. Like all free men Jesus acted with independence and originality. In its citadel in Jerusalem He smote the system of the Pharisees and the Sadducees a reeling blow; but He himself perished, though, as the author of the fourth gospel says, He rose through His death into full freedom, and entered with power upon His reign over the world of men.

Strange though it may appear, the first great interpreter of Jesus was an ecclesiastic and a man of high academic distinction, Paul the Apostle. By an experience which we shall not attempt to explain, he made a *volte-face,* in what we call his conversion, and from that moment the legal system lost its power over him, and he became its ruthless critic. In consequence, his life was so full of controversy that superficial readers often think of him as a hard dogmatic theologian, essentially a legalist under the mask of a revolutionary. But he was nothing of the sort, as is plain from the Epistle to the Galatians, itself a classic of religious freedom: "Either obey the injunc-

tions of the Law, or walk by the Spirit"; "If ye are under the sway of the Spirit, ye are not under the Law." There can be no half measures: "But ye are called to Freedom." The whole Law is fulfilled in love, which is the fruit of the Spirit.

This was the Gospel for strong men, for the moral élite of the Hebrew and the Gentile worlds. Ordinary people were not sufficiently mature to accept it, so they diluted its strength, and though it spread over the largest portions of the early Christian world, there were sections of the primitive Church which hesitated to break absolutely with their past. Early proselytes, who had come in from the pagan world untutored in high idealism, and many former Jews found Paul's doctrine of spiritual freedom too uncompromising, and they desired to walk still according to prescription. They looked for such instruction by catechism as is given to the immature. Yielding to the indolence of human nature, these less robust elements supplemented the Gospel with extra beliefs: the leaders of the Church imposed new regulations and in time the Gospel became almost codified in a new Law, and the clear-

eyed freemen of the faith grew relatively fewer.

As the centuries passed legalism bred heresy, the dread of which has ever since at some time or other hung like a thick miasma over the Christian Church in nearly all its branches. In fact, this cloud has never been far away from the dwellings of the human spirit, and, at times, has proved to be not the least potent cause of the unhealthy condition of the morals of society.

Of course there are all kinds of heresies, not merely in religion, which bring down the lightning of official wrath. In the economic world, there are the heresies hated by the manufacturer and the trades-unionist. Heresies are found wherever men harden themselves against new ideas, and live by the letter instead of by the spirit. According to the derivation of the word, the chance for heresy occurs wherever a man begins to choose for himself what his ideas shall be, instead of accepting them from his class or order. Unfortunately, even he who in youth was a freeman may become a heresy-hunter in old age. The course of progress is tedious and

spiral, because the centuries succeed one another not as vast plains, but as mountain ranges with rich valleys between, the succeeding height often becoming more difficult than its predecessor. Every age is confronted by some legalism or mass of conventions which must be surmounted by the freemen of their time, if human beings are to become more emancipated. But the children of the freemen are often contented with the constricted valleys into which their fathers led them. New leaders, possibly of other stock, must take their place.

Since the days of the Greeks and the early Christian Church, the principles of freedom have been more fully worked out by the peoples from whom we are sprung than by any others. But this growth has been chiefly in the field of constitutional freedom, though there have been writers who have written noble treatises and poems embodying the principles that underlie all liberty. It can hardly be doubted that the early diffusion of the Bible among the common people in their own tongue has liberated the English mind from subserviency to foreign dictation, whether political or ecclesiastical, and created independent

self-respecting individuals. The great writers of the Elizabethan age, Milton, Burke, Wordsworth, Mill, and a host of others, have produced the most glorious literature, inspired by the idea of freedom, that any people possesses, and no others understand or practise democracy quite so thoroughly.

Throughout Western civilization there have been incessant struggles to win this most precious jewel, preserved in some lands almost by stealth among little groups which would have been crushed out had the dominant part of society been able to run them down in their hiding-places. Suppression by force is so much easier than suppression by argument, but, in the long run, the idea wins out because the mind and soul of man yield to it at last.

How far has war enabled the race to attain fuller freedom? Historians assert that to it is to be traced real progress in liberty. The political deliverance of Athens was assured by the battle of Marathon and those that followed. Those struggles the Greeks held to be the glorious demonstration that it was possible to preserve for themselves their citizenship within a free state, and from this confidence, as from a root of great vitality, there sprang the

richest fruits of the theatre, sculpture, poetry, philosophy, public discussion. A similar fruitage appeared in England after the wars with Spain, when it was demonstrated that the men of that island were the masters of their own fortunes; when the sailors explored the seas, and Sidney showed forth his chivalry on land; when Cecil and Walsingham guided the ship of State; when Shakespeare, Spenser, Hooker and the Puritans gave tongues to the ideals of the people.

But, since 1919, we have been questioning whether or not war in this age does promote freedom. Perhaps, in a negative way, it does, in so far as it destroys forces which, if unchecked, would root up the delicate flower. Our proclamation in 1914 was that we went to war to save freedom, or, as Wilson put it later, "to make the world safe for democracy." These beliefs were in large measure sincere, but if war is necessary, it has so far been a sorry school for freedom. During the clash of arms, the shriek of shells, and the dust of battle, the finer features of justice and the elusive aspects of liberty are invisible. These twin graces, withdrawn within the shadow, gaze unseen and with sadness upon the chaos of

combat. No more vivid commentary upon the general immorality out of which war issues can be found than in the biographies of those who had most to do with it, which have been appearing in numbers since the cessation of hostilities. If love, justice, freedom are the supreme virtues of man, whatever leads up to war and the conditions which it imposes upon combatants, both on the field and at home, are so completely their negation and annulment, that proof must first be made that large portions of humanity will suffer irretrievable loss of these virtues, before we enter upon the desolation of war as a remedial measure. So inconceivably awful is the result of a wrong decision, that we can easily understand the agony of Sir Edward Grey in the last few days before August 4, 1914.

Of course, we are familiar with the phrase "the moral equivalent of war," which means that it may be necessary to lay down, if not life, at least that which gives life its outward satisfaction, in order to maintain those principles which are the soul of our freedom. In order to save one's life, it may be necessary to deny oneself the amenities of society, the goodwill of one's friends and to be treated as an outcast

disloyal to party or set. From ancient days, all moralists are agreed that the sage who can act thus is the truly free man. It is a war within the soul that will be repeated as long as men believe in ideals. Few are equal to this warfare and most of us pray that we may not be exposed to the severe ordeal.

Such realization of freedom as has already been effected,—and a survey obviously shows progress,—may be traced in alternative advances and diggings-in where the front lines may have had to lie waiting long under fire. Little by little, ground is being gained by all divisions, political, economic, intellectual, moral and spiritual. Therefore, we may take courage and be of good hope.

Progress may be traced also among our own Canadian people. We are not worthy of our fathers if we have not in the Canada of our day a more widespread and deeper freedom than they had at the opening of the nineteenth century. When the first settlers landed on the shores of the provinces, they faced the solitude of a vast unexplored continent, the hills of which, clothed with forests, rolled back in waves around countless lakes and up from mighty, rushing rivers. For half the year they

endured a severe winter; at all times they lived in dread of the savage. They took what comfort they could in their loghouses; they earned a bare subsistence on what they raised in their clearings. Markets where they could dispose profitably of their produce were few, the settlements round the mills and country stores were small, and the people had no money to spare. Thus men and women, who found it hard to make a living, fell easily into animosities with one another; bickerings were rife, party spirit ran high, and the early political contests were bitter. Weighted as they were with political and economic problems that impeded them on starting off, refinements were excess baggage. Not improperly, therefore, a large portion of the labours of our historians has been devoted to constitutional affairs, especially the winning of responsible government. This was a condition of development. Not that the attainment of it was found to bring forthwith better government for the average population. Doubtless those who assumed power in the earliest days were, as a rule, the people who possessed the education and the experience for administrative office. But the acquisition of full political

freedom by the people as a whole liberated ambitions and developed capacities in the citizens, which found expression, as time went on, in economic growth and cultured qualities. Better schools were built, better newspapers were published, literature and art were more widely appreciated, the common people took a pride in their country, and patriotism awoke. Prosperity has done much to give us the freedom of a fuller life.

We shall proceed to consider some of the conditions that promote freedom. If mankind is to appreciate the essence of justice and liberty which are fundamentally intellectual and moral, its attention must not be absorbed in the mere struggle for material existence. Of course, to satisfy one's material wants is a moral imperative. If a man will not work neither let him eat. But as long as his energy is exhausted in the process of supplying sheer bodily needs, what is left for pondering upon and enjoying higher things? If the finer phases of liberty are to be contemplated, man must escape from thraldom to things of the flesh. Some battles for freedom have been won, it is true, by men who lived in destitution, but its richest qualities reveal themselves

in calmer intervals of reflection, and the appreciation of its more subtle aspects depends upon ripened wisdom and experience. It is true that, in crises of great stress, the secrets of men's characters are proclaimed, the merely decorative is torn off, and the primal virtues are called into play; but none the less truly some of the finer and more delicate virtues have their bloom rubbed off in the struggle.

Improvement in economic conditions has been a factor, moreover, in the realization of freedom since the War. I am told by one who knows Europe well that, except in some areas, comfort has become more widely diffused, that wages are higher, that there has been an increased demand for all sorts of commodities and, therefore, the wheels of industry have been moving faster: in fact, the economic recovery of Europe has lessened the fears of those who were most familiar with the condition of affairs after the War, and good hope is now entertained that this reconstruction will lead to a fuller freedom, not only for the peoples of Europe, but of the world. This hope may be challenged by some who will point to the United States. No country in the world has ever enjoyed greater material prosperity,

but severe criticisms are made by French and English observers in respect of the quality of the freedom that prevails there. They say that the intelligent class has little influence upon politics; that nowhere has capitalism exercised more repressive control of speech; that in few civilized countries is justice slower and more uncertain. Doubtless much can be adduced to substantiate these opinions, and safety once again lies in moderation. Immersion in bodily comfort soddens the spirit. But I am sure that the average American who is thus pitied is greatly surprised to be told that he is among the lesser freemen of the world, and equally sure I am that an incorrect picture may be given by strangers who overlook certain features of his real life.

It is, in my judgment, incontestable that a precondition of expanding freedom on any large scale is improvement in the economic well-being of men and women. Where children look up with wan faces and are not fed, where women are clothed in rags, and families breed in hovels, where days of suffering succeed one another without end, what opportunity have the graces of freedom for finding a dwelling-place there? As mankind are better cared

for, a better day dawns for their emancipation in mind and spirit.

A second principle in the realization of freedom is the recognition of Law. But does this not conflict with the Pauline view of the spiritual life, as it was set forth in an earlier part of this lecture, which he sums up in the words, "Ye are no longer under the Law, but under Grace"? Such a conflict is only seeming. When the Apostle attacks the attitude of the Pharisees to the Law in the letter to the Romans, he means the ritual, moral and social practices as codified in the Jewish law. That was an external system embodied in statute, enactments which gave great play to the interpretative ingenuity of ecclesiastical lawyers, prohibitions by a hereditary hierarchy which found no sanction within the soul, nor were ratified by the moral nature. In contrast with that, the Apostle says that those who live under grace shall bring forth the fruit of the spirit in love, joy, peace, as a tree brings forth its fruit according to the law of its nature. Therefore the life of the free religious man will display nothing freakish or irrational because it produces in accordance with the most perfect law. He can be counted upon

to do the right and proper thing. The better a man is, the more do people know what to expect of him, the more trust can be placed in him, because supreme law is embodied in his conduct. There are things that he cannot do because to do them would bring confusion into his nature and dethrone the spirit within him. As has been already suggested, ethics is a science to which the British people turn with aptitude. Our literature has been both an outcome of, and has educated our people into admiration for moral idealism. To take one statement:

"The universal and tacit respect for Order which underlay the many reform movements and never permitted the outbreak of a storm such as was witnessed abroad, has been accompanied, in most of the thoughtful minds of this country, by the tacit or openly-avowed conviction that there exists a natural, moral, social, or divine order of the world."[1]

Therefore, by our inheritance from Greece, from primitive Christianity and from our own forefathers, we must willingly recognize that law underlies life if we are to step out into our own age as freemen.

[1]See J. T. Merz: *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.* Vol. IV, p. 131.

As it is a chief purpose of education to ennoble man by releasing in his soul the spirit of true freedom, a university provides for freedom a hearth and home. It is not a collection of classrooms in which teachers transmit by authority doctrines to a rising generation; nor is it merely a place of instruction. It is a busy centre of inquiry. Its professors are engaged in discovering order in wider realms, and in explaining experience by the range of law. Man is being given the freedom of health by the disclosure of the origin and operation of disease. By experiment the physiologist establishes the process by which food is assimilated, finds what elements are missing when digestion is impaired, and informs the clinician so that he may change methods of treatment and improve his therapy, proceeding no longer in this respect by empiricism or guesswork, but with the freedom he has won through a knowledge of the laws of metabolism.

This newer freedom might be illustrated from all the departments of university study, from ethics, psychology, economics, sociology. We now know that society is not static, that it moves by law, and that upon the discovery and practice of its laws human progress is

dependent. Because these disciplines deal with persons, they are not the less intelligible. Human character is not without order. Men exhibit principles in their conduct and the more widespread education is, the better are these understood. Fortunately, when the disorder of human nature is remedied, the individual also, in harmony with the whole, finds his true freedom in the exercise of his own rights. Revolution may exist for the moment, but education leads out of anarchy into liberty. Therefore the most precious possession of a university is its academic freedom, for nothing must be allowed to interfere with the discovery and proclamation of the laws of life.

An open-minded attitude towards new knowledge is a further essential condition for freedom. And yet it is very hard for most people to keep an open mind. They dread change, and actually some are afraid of education, because it will bring too much freedom for classes of people who are at present without it. Complacent folk assume that men and women should abide in the position in which a static society has put them, and they soothe their consciences by saying that this is the will of God. A similar view prevailed among

the Jews of the first century, and was denounced by Paul as the very antithesis of the Gospel which comes from a God who is no respecter of persons. Its modern counterpart is found among those people who hold that the white race is to control the rest of the world, and it is causing no little apprehension among large portions of the human family. Thoughtful persons are watching with anxiety what is taking place in Africa, where the whites are settling some of the best parts of that continent. Naturally, they claim that they are heralds of a higher civilization, but does this mean more than their control of lands and wealth so as to curtail the opportunities of the natives? Are justice and freedom for the white man and for the yellow or black man different in quality? Against this assumption the enlightened freedom of our people must always be on its guard. Not that our conceptions of government and ownership must be imposed in a doctrinaire fashion upon people, to use Kipling's disagreeable phrase, "of lesser breed," but that we, with our superior civilization, are trustees for those who are less advanced.

Further, we are prone to become enslaved to stereotyped ideas, which once had vitality

but are now extinct, except in so far as they express the opinions of our class. Conventionalism is nearly always a drag on the wheels of progress. A judicious use of self-criticism is, therefore, necessary if we are to keep our eye clear. I say "judicious", because life is not so bad that it must always be stirred up lest it stagnate; but we suffer more, nevertheless, from contentment with things as they are, than from intelligent, if disturbing, criticism. Liberalism has always claimed that freedom is its watchword, sometimes in self-righteous complacency. Let, therefore, those who claim to be liberal in spirit (not in a party sense) listen to these words from a recent *History of European Liberalism,* by Guido de Ruggiero:

"The tendency to erect freedom into a monopoly for oneself, a privilege of some at the expense of others, after having demanded it for everybody, is inevitable. Thus, by degrees, the liberal spirit deserts the Liberal party: and at times it appears equally in opposing or competing parties which affirm their own right to exist and to destroy the privileges of those in power. There is also a danger, inherent in every Liberal party, of creating a fanaticism of liberty. . . . The sectarian bigotry of partisans of free thought is notori-

ous: but it is not an isolated case: it often happens that the very energy with which Liberals defend their own cause destroys their calm estimation of difficulties and makes them unjust towards their adversaries and, therefore, in the last resort, dogmatic and illiberal."

This is well and wisely said, and should be taken to heart not merely by the middle-aged, but by youth when they are still full of enthusiasm. Though authority is and must be powerful in those early years, they are, nevertheless, those in which the mind goes out on the eager quest for ideas. Youth breaks into an ocean, sailing on each day with advancing horizons. Some make the landfall too soon, and, like mariners who go ashore and are content with what they first see, they grow weary with the strenuous journey, settle down on a mere island, and never reach the new world. But the truly free man is he who keeps his enthusiasm for truth into old age, listens eagerly to the rumours of new discoveries and rejoices in them, as he did in his youth. As, for example, Charles W. Eliot, the last president of Harvard University, who, at ninety, was quick to respond to whatever seemed likely to promote the amelioration

of mankind. Most great leaders, in fact, do remain so until the end, for there is something indestructible in the spirit of freedom, which only wanes when decay destroys the instrument, only ceases when the strings of the violin snap.

The free man will not become enslaved to the routine of his profession or office; he envies the youth because before him there is so much time in which to learn things that he himself will never be able to understand. By contrast, what is more pitiful than the teacher, official, inspector, wedded to system and sensitive to criticism, and rewarding only the obedient with promotion; a mere ritualist in the routine orders of a system that deadens! The free man should have the spirit of the optimist, who believes that the best is yet to be, far beyond the confines even of his old age, and be ready to salute the dawn of a new day in which freer men than he shall inhabit the earth.

Freedom has advanced most when heroes have been found to lead the way. They have created new hopes for nations and given them life. A people may be judged by the quality of, and their enthusiasm for, their heroes.

Each age has its own. During the American Civil War, Lincoln liberated not only the blacks from slavery but millions of whites from degrading conceptions of human life. When I was an undergraduate, Mazzini was a hero to thousands of students in the universities of Europe and Britain. For a while President Wilson was accepted as a possible hero for more than his own people. Heroes who embody high conceptions of honour, justice and freedom infuse these virtues into the life-blood of their followers. It may be that in later life, on review in the cold light of history, one or other may not appear to have been so flawless as he arose upon the imagination of youth. That does not matter. He gave inspiration when it was needed because he was believed on good grounds to be of heroic mould.

To turn to science. Many apostles of freedom there have been, some of them having had to endure the moral equivalent of war in order that their ideas might have free course in ushering mankind into fuller liberty. No one can estimate the liberating impulse that has been imparted to such students as were fortunate enough to come within their influence,

by Faraday, Huxley, Pasteur, Lister or Osler; and in a different way on this continent Sir Wilfrid Grenfell has in recent years been arousing the slumbering purpose of many in the universities to nobler ends. Since the War, heroic inspiration has been lacking, but perhaps we have been making headway under ordinary men.

In the first lecture, we saw that authority has been shifting, and yet that it does exist. There are standards; there is a realm of law; freedom arises from knowledge and observance of law. This spirit is slowly strengthening its hold upon the human race. Men are living increasingly by ideals; they are coming to see that as knowledge widens, so broadens also the understanding of law, and that not by its superficial observance, but by fulfilling it in its essence, does man become free. But we shall not greatly exult in freedom until in company with others, as a nation, a church, a community, we get heroic leadership from men or women who will have the insight, the wisdom and the courage to tear away the conventions and half truths that have grown about the hinges and lock on the door of our soul, and thereby will let in the light of some

new faith. Happy are we if we ourselves possess such heroes in history, in literature, in religion, or in common life.

In a lesser way, we are called to be heroic; to get for ourselves and others a little more liberty; to venture somewhat even if there is a chance of failure. As I look at any group of students I often think of a sight that was familiar in my boyhood. You, also, may have seen a fine ship building; have watched them shape the timbers, plane, trim and curve the planks; have heard the click of the mallets as men drove the spikes home; have looked on as they caulked, tarred and painted; have stood on the deck, perhaps, and caught a glimpse of the blue ocean outside the harbour. After the launch you may have seen the compass fitted, the spars swung up and the sails bent. All had been done with the utmost skill. But in Kipling's phrase, the ship had not yet "found herself." She had to prove her sea-going qualities, the cargoes she could carry, and, more than that, until she got the master and crew who could best use the winds and handle her in the gales, she did not acquire her full freedom of the seas. The meaning of the parable is plain: During the student's under-

graduate career, the university shapes him with the skill of great inherited experience, but he will not "find himself," or realize his freedom, until he has his intelligence and passions under such control as will enable him to get most out of the storms and sunshine which fall to the lot of each new life.

III.

WHAT THE UNIVERSITY DOES FOR SOCIETY

NYONE who is so fortunate as to observe the annual inflow and outflow of students at a great university, and to mingle with them, cannot, if he is healthy in body and mind, fail to be cheerful:

"Life's morning radiance hath not left the hills,
Her dew is on the flowers."

The life into which they are ushered is, indeed, more complicated than was that of their fathers, and, like the captain who needs skill to hold a steady course under the impact of swiftly changing currents, they must be alert. External authority has declined, but self-restraint has not been thrown off, nor the sense of responsibility disavowed.

There is reason for hope, even for confidence, that those who are in our universities are taking advantage of the privileges which have been provided for them without stint

by private benefactors and the state, and that most of them will make a return to society proportional to what they have received. Democracy has need of them, for, since it has come to stay, it must have its eyes enlightened if it is not to stumble into ditches. It does not lack self-constituted guides in press, pulpit or on the hustings, but in the multitude of voices there is often much more profession than discernment, and the less genial among our intelligentsia grow pessimistic over "the worship of Incompetence."

In what sense can we say that the universities stand behind the democracy of Canada and enlighten it? Do they elevate it above what is commonplace and mean? Do they provide it with ideals of truth and beauty? That is a question which we must ever and anon put to ourselves. In respect of the British universities, the question may be answered confidently in the affirmative. To take a most recent proof: Lord Asquith, a man of a brilliant university career, "with a mind steeped in the best books of all time," has been called the greatest parliamentarian of this century, and the present prime minister of

England, Mr. Baldwin, paid this wonderful tribute to his memory:

"Few leaders made fewer psychological mistakes, none more consistently maintained an unfailing loyalty. He never harboured a mean thought. He was ever ready to resign credit and to take blame. In the bitterest days of political controversy this party champion never armed himself with harsh or wounding words. He brought and thought no evil, and he won both admiration and love. As his character had sustained the subtle temptations of success, so it withstood the fierce disappointments of failure, without bitterness, blame, self-pity, or attempt at self-justification; and public life tried character as by fire, both in success and failure.

"The sound and memory of all human voices must be ephemeral, but the character and the spirit which they breathed will remain as an abiding inspiration. As, when the House adjourned, the arena of controversy became dark and silent, so man himself must pass from the heat of controversy to darkness and silence. Every one in high places must pray that, when his hour comes, he may leave behind to his friends a memory as fragrant, and to his country a light, however faint, to lighten the steps of those who come after."

Nor is the influence of the British universities on public life confined to those who have

had a parliamentary career. Great civil servants, most of them unknown to the public, have by their intelligence and hard work given to the British Empire much of its *ethos*, have governed crown colonies with wisdom, and have patiently created traditions of justice among backward races. Ask them and they will tell you what they owe to their universities.

In Canada so far our parliamentary traditions have not been moulded by the spirit of the universities to the same degree, though many of our greatest leaders have been graduates and their number is increasing. But there is a place for the educated man as a guide to democracy apart from politics. At his best he is a thinker, and the country needs thinkers. He may not feel himself called upon to go out upon the public platform in the interests of any party, or even to write for the press. But his influence will be of real value should it be upon only a few. Patient wisdom, a suggested doubt as to some accepted practice uttered by a man who has thought deeply, may enter into the minds of merely two or three, but these may be men of power, and from them the influence will

spread in waves and vitalize a stagnant flood. Not infrequently a protest is needed against a perverted popular ideal, and the people require clear and truthful thinkers, unpopular though they often are. Fresh, clear thinking cast upon the public mind is like sharp salt upon a wound that lies open to infection. It burns, but sterilizes. We need to be cleansed, so full is the air of hurtful germs issuing from the press, the party politician, and the average man; and sad will be the day for a community when it will not endure the painful therapy of clear and sincere thinking. Its self-control will pass and it will become morally inert, for morality involves both growth and restraint.

Fortunate is the generation that has a preservative in men and women who think for themselves, who see a little further than most into moral conduct, and who are not afraid to challenge the *status quo.* But such persons must be content to endure criticism or even ostracism. The days of suffering for conscience' sake are not all in the past. Freedom has to be won in each age. Since universities aim at training thinkers, they are sometimes unpopular places. Respect for them the average man has, but he is afraid also that

noxious eruptions may issue from them. They should be, he thinks, ancient fortresses to defend the community against all who would disturb it, and when he sees a knight stride forth and hold parley in the gate with some "new thought" enemy he protests, though, of course, the stranger may be coming, not with hostile intent, but with news of uncommon value for the garrison within.

Every clear, true, brave thinker is as salt to society, and a university is a savour of life unto life as long as it is the home of these champions of the freedom of the soul. Through its teachers and students, a university that is fulfilling its function, should, in the words of the Apostle Paul, "make manifest the savour of its knowledge in every place: not as the many corrupting the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God." What nobler legend could be inscribed over its portals? The many, the commonplace, whether in press, politics, pulpit or school, often adulterate their wares to make a living; they weaken their strength to suit the taste and to make them go as far as possible. But the sincere apostle of knowledge who manifests it everywhere as in the sight of God is one

from whom that knowledge arises as a sweet aroma to heaven, indeed, one who himself has been laid in sacrifice on an altar in the presence of God. That is an ideal of towering sublimity, and only the world's greatest thinkers have been able to reach up to it; but there it stands as the height towards which noble souls aspire. Here is no claim for irresponsible freedom of thought, no supercilious criticism of the crowd by superior persons in a citadel immune from their attack, not the mere liberty to say or think what one wills while one's own bread and home are kept secure withal. Real knowledge comes with hard toil or sacrifice of mind and heart: it has been earned at great cost. It is also uttered as in the sight of God, not thrown out contemptuously.

The university must not dress up show-windows merely to attract the crowd, nor dilute or adulterate its wares. Its apostles are spiritual messengers, who, if need be at the cost of popularity, must everywhere manifest knowledge of the truth, not as the cleric sees it, or the journalist, or the doctor, or the tory or the grit, but, as after hard investigation, it has been brought to light by the science or learning of earnest men. Solitary thinkers,

often misunderstood in their day and generation, have since the beginning of civilization been saviours of society. Of many of them even the names are forgotten, or it may be *stat nominis umbra*, their memory is not more than a shadow.

It is a commonplace that the prophet is not without honour save in his own country or age; and universities have not been without their prophets frequently since their rise in the twelfth century. Indeed, one of their functions is to provide a home for such men. In other words, the university must afford opportunities, full and free, for research and the proclamation of truth, whether in the physical, the economic or the philosophic worlds. But it may happen that, even in the university itself, its greatest men are not the best known to its staff, much less to the outside public; such live on in their students, some of whom may acquire greater fame than themselves. These, however, are they who really modify opinion. They are the silent forces from whom new power issues.

Consider how a change in belief is brought about, how a new school of thought arises. Average folk are not thinkers, nor ever will be.

But they breathe an atmosphere laden with ideas that come ultimately from philosophers or men of science, and their life is unconsciously so saturated with them that their powers of resistance are heightened or lessened according as the ideas are health-giving or deleterious. Take the scientific materialism which has been so dominant in the last generation, popularized as it was in the press and accepted as self-evident by large numbers of the reading public. It gathered head by the astonishing discoveries of physical science and by their applications which have resulted in accumulated wealth. Nothing has seemed impossible. But who were the real creators of this new materialistic world? Who have made possible the going over the seas, the penetration into the unknown, the harnessing of power, the conquest of the air? Surely the originators have been the men in laboratories. Who made it possible to cut the Panama canal? In measure he who discovered that the yellow fever germ is transferred by the stegomyia mosquito. This is but one example of the way in which science has created material success, and with it a belief that it may resolve all mysteries. If this is

traceable at last to the universities, where else are we to find the antidote to this prevalent materialistic philosophy? Certainly not in resolutions of public bodies, nor in denunciations of preachers, nor in counterblasts of the press. These are megaphones which enlarge the small voices of individuals. Only with other thinkers lies the answer, men who in the undisturbed quiet of their studies ponder and create; their ideas are then assimilated by powerful writers and enter into the mind of the educated classes; from them a change passes over the outlook of average folk. Thus an age of materialism becomes an age of faith. By illustration I may take a philosopher who died a few years ago, and who did much by his criticism to puncture popular philosophies of his day. The name of Francis Herbert Bradley is known to few here. But thirty-five years ago it was a test of a man's aptitude in philosophy to master his latest book. He was as salt in the intellectual world. This solitary thinker, from his Oxford study, by his incisive and brilliant style, gave idealism a commanding position in the thought of England; lesser men have carried his ideas far and wide.

It is difficult for the man in the street to realize that the scientist who scrutinizes the structure of the atom may be a greater influence on his generation than the man who builds the Canadian Pacific Railway. But probably Van Horne, if he were alive, would admit that this is so; for he was a man of great understanding. Michael Pupin, known on this continent for the extension of telephonic applications, is great as scientist and inventor, but he also will say that one of his inspirers was Clerk Maxwell, the Scottish genius who in Cambridge enlarged our knowledge of basic laws of physics.

That a student should have come within range of a disinterested scholar or scientist, and have gained insight into a great mind at work is a priceless experience. His character changes under the contact. There are those who say that it is none of the business of professors to mould character, that they are paid to teach chemistry or economics, that they are dealing with men and women who are past the school stage, and have entered into the freedom of pure enquiry. If by this they mean that it is not their business to inculcate moral precepts, I agree with them: in so far as

preceptual moral instruction is ever effective, it is at a much earlier period of life. But I do not agree that character has taken its final shape and is all but set before the university is reached. The rapid development of the mind in the stimulating atmosphere of the university is bound to react upon the whole nature. It would indeed be a dull place were there to be no intellectual awakening under the spell of an unusual teacher or brilliant companions; for, in fact, much of the fascination of a university is the chance for the illumination of the mind analogous to what occasionally happens in the religious life and is called conversion. A flood of light bursts in upon the dull spirit, energies are aroused, enthusiasm created, and to be young is a new joy. A gleam beckons him on and the years are full of hope. This spirit of enquiry is a reward in itself: the youth does not seek first of all some extraneous object such as the getting of a degree, either in order to earn a living or to win the approbation of a community. At the start to set one's eye on earthly rewards is to lose the race: in middle life to settle down and be content with less than the best is to

have lost the gleam, an all too frequent and disappointing event.

Of course, I shall be told that I am magnifying the quality of both teachers and students in thus analyzing the actual life of a university: that there are few such. Granted that there are few, there are enough to keep high the ideals of the place, and, should they vanish, the institution would lose much of its worth for the community. The disinterested search for the truth is in itself both the cause and the result of character, and no one who knows a university will question the statement that there is a larger percentage of strong character among earnest and single-minded students than among those who simply do what is required, and let sentiment serve for truth. For truth is a quality of the mind, not a statement of facts. Therefore, no mere accumulation of facts can take the place of the spirit of enquiry that will not stop until the work is done. A truthful mind is an open mind, a tolerant mind, a mind so clear of prejudice and mere emotion that the ray of intelligence which strikes through it will not be discoloured by them. I think that it is correct to say, though there are abundant

examples to the contrary, that, as a rule, the greatest scholars are the freest from prejudice and arrogance. So often the biographies of men of the highest order of mind reveal surprisingly attractive personalities. And yet one is disappointed by the narrowness and intolerance of many university men. Take, for example, the history of Oxford just before the appointment of the University Commission of 1850. A more prejudiced and self-centred group than the heads of the colleges at that time it would be hard to find. They were reactionaries of the most stubborn sort. But within Oxford itself its reforming power was found, in the tutors and professors who proved to be the salt of that society, and ever since Oxford has made amazing progress.

That action on the part of the Oxford dons was the more disappointing because they set in the forefront of their studies what were called *literae humaniores*, the great disciplines of classical literature, philosophy and history, supposedly sources of wisdom. That compromising conduct notwithstanding, experience proves that these studies do produce a sane view of life and a tolerant spirit. In the study of literature there is, of course, the

danger lest the word should count more than the substance, and mere style become a fugitive ecstasy; but great writers have chosen words to fit their thought, and placed them in such order and cadence as seem to move in rhythm with the deeps of the soul. Word, order, thought are all as truthful as the mind can make them, and they are offered to humanity as the sacrificial toil of noble souls—an Æschylus, Job, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe. Surely those who are imbued with the spirit of such literature must have learned pity and sympathy, and therewith tolerance and kindly judgment for the children of men in their age-long, baffling struggle with the world that allows so little light to penetrate upon the riddle of their existence. What a blessing to any community are even a few mellow souls who can speak gently to warring men and bid them bear with one another, inasmuch as none can see far into the heart of his perplexed and, it may be, suffering brother! In literature, at least, some pure word of courage and comfort may be found, not soiled by the controversies and prejudices of present-day communities and nations.

The historian, too, trained in the scientific

methods of a university, has become a most useful member of modern society, for this world reverberates with the inherited pride and prejudice of peoples, and many of their traditions are armouries of grievous words that stir up anger. Those who truthfully tell their own folk things about their past, which remove their enmities and prepare a more kindly sentiment towards other nations, are entitled to stand, in the estimation of their people, beside the generals who have won their battles, which possibly would never have been fought had the histories been differently written. We recall how, at the opening of the War, Treitschke and his school were held to have been a potent agency in creating the aggressive spirit of the Prussian people. For us to-day, on this North American continent, the rewriting of history is an eminent blessing, as it purges patriotism of some of its grosser elements. Chicago has been pointing this moral, for a mayor who plays shrewdly upon the ignorance of voters of all races and creeds, not only makes his city a laughing-stock, but arouses the thoughtful class to a sense of the danger of such demagoguery. A truer delineation of the facts and causes of past troubles will

be a solid foundation on which to rear between Canadians, British folk and Americans a bridge of permanent friendliness. Gushing sentiment may be carried away like froth when the east wind blows. What we do need is more educated people who will secure freedom for historians, diffuse their discoveries, and keep faithfully to facts which sometimes are thought by politicians and churches to be too upsetting.

I may be told again that I have drawn a very idealistic picture, and that few who have gone through a university would recognize either it or themselves. I hope, however, that this is not so. Surely some of the lineaments of this idealism are to be discerned in every institution of higher learning in this land. If not, I must reply that it is not performing its duty to society, and that the State or the public which supports it should appoint a commission of enquiry to see where it is ailing. That a university would mould the thought of the people was adduced by Dr. Strachan as an argument for its creation when he made application for the Royal Charter of King's College, Toronto, in 1827: "The establishment of the proposed university, by collecting all the promising youth of the colony into one

place, would gradually give a new tone to public sentiments and feelings: and should any portion of the people cherish a leaning towards our American neighbours, it would be removed or checked by means not in their nature violent, but, on the contrary, producing the most beneficial effects through the whole Province." He held to a partly outworn theory of the purpose of higher education, inherited from the Oxford of the eighteenth century, but it conveyed a truth which is still valid.

During the War, I was told by officers in the army that they observed great differences between those who had been educated in universities, and those from the same grades in society who had gone no further than school. The university man took up his orders better, addressed himself more capably to his tasks and was more completely reliable. Both the mental and the moral advantages were on his side. Similar testimony has often been borne by men in business. The latest I have seen is that of the president of one of our leading banks in his last annual report, in which he expresses the hope that graduates of universities may turn to banking as a profes-

sion, so that in time there will come to be two grades of employees, the higher being of university rank, from whom it may be expected that, as a rule, the chief officers will be chosen: "The growing complexity of the economic and banking relationships of Canada makes it essential that there should be a group of young well-informed men in the Bank preparing themselves for more responsible positions. In order to obtain the services of the highest type of men graduating from the colleges, the Bank is also prepared to make special concessions in connection with the immediate salary offered them while they are still holding junior positions." The average graduate has some power of accuracy, some measure of intellectual integrity, some conception of the range of law, some idea of standards in life, some regard for authority. During four years, he has been practising, even as a very junior officer, the elementary rules of navigation, and he has surely learned to take his bearings on the seas of thought.

One may go further and say that the introduction of university men into business has had a beneficial effect in mitigating the competitive struggle. The economic motive is the

most powerful in the life of the average man, who acts on the principle that the acquisition of wealth is a supreme blessing. This motive has, of course, been of value and has provided an object, if not an ulterior object, for the initiative and vision of men of energy and decision of character. Nor is it entirely selfish, because the accumulated wealth of modern society has raised the general well-being of average persons. But in great business the struggle is hard and harsh, and it blurs the finer views of life. "Civilization mitigates the unfairness of the competitive struggle, but never abolishes it. The most flagrant wolves are restrained: the sheep have a reasonable degree of safety assured to them."[1] Admitted that the competition for material wealth is ineradicable, it may be made more tolerable by the introduction into it of men in whom there are other conflicting desires of a high order. Education introduces nobler ideals alongside the competitive, for its aim is to enable the individual to realize that there is a common good, and that he must in some sense lose himself in order to find it. There is no fixed quantity of knowledge, or

[1]E. J. Urwick: *The Social Good*, p. 148.

truth or beauty, so that it is diminished by being acquired or enjoyed by any one person. In these matters there is not even an absolute first place: there may be many who are bracketed first. In fact, competition comes into play only so far as one wishes, quite legitimately, to develop one's powers to the uttermost, and to exercise the influence which the possession of knowledge or the appreciation or creation of beauty produces.

Since there are in an educated man's life competing motives, which restrain him from being absorbed in the mere acquisition of something external to himself which can only be a means to an end, it is not surprising that hitherto in this country, or indeed elsewhere, as the colleges discover when they inaugurate endowment campaigns, few graduates of universities have amassed vast fortunes. But if they have not often been successful in respect of the acquisition of wealth on a large scale, they have contributed much to the humanizing of business. I have heard wise observers say that the introduction into manufacture, industry and commerce, of the humaner ideals promoted by a university career has made a sensible difference in their

attitude towards labour and also in the strain of competition. This natural result will surely follow before long in society at large, and in a more genial atmosphere some problems that still linger from the winter of our discontent will disappear. If the pursuit of humane learning and pure science has not heightened in the student a sense of justice, and of his obligation to his fellow-man, there has been something woefully deficient in the education, or in the quality of his own nature.

Should this not hold also of the wider international world? Domestic problems are hard enough, but more acute and intractable are those which arise where races meet together. Black and white, white and yellow, white and brown—how varied and delicate are their relations! Consider the danger spots of the world at present—China, India, Egypt, Kenya, South Africa, the West Coast of North America—but, in fact, there is potential trouble wherever different races meet. In these regions, men live in such suspicion, fear or hostility towards one another that they endanger the peace of the world and retard its civilization. Everywhere there rises the cry for freedom, unreasoning often, but there

it is; freedom from the fear of racial subjugation; freedom on the part of defenceless peoples who so easily fall a prey to the greed and commercial exploitation of others who, through the new knowledge of science, have great power under their control. Or it may be a sullen voice of anger is heard for supposed contempt of one's race or religion. It would appear that these racial problems increase rather than lessen as Western education displaces old cultures. It is a familiar story that much of the unrest in India has been due to the premature and one-sided higher instruction which, years ago, was provided for those who were looking for government positions, and, as we saw in our first lecture, the unrest in China is traceable in large measure to the returned students.

Will not the universities supply the antidote for the trouble they have at least promoted? Western education can never be taken away from the other races. Probably it is a part of the process of their betterment, the first stage, we hope, towards a higher plane of life. There are signs, moreover, that the universities will be centres for the diffusion of a finer humanism. Students from everywhere

are flocking to them. In the middle ages, students believed that their education was not complete until they had spent the *Wanderjahr* in European universities. Now these years of travel are the privilege of students from every quarter of the globe. Here man meets man, and if he is treated not with condescension, but with understanding, he will return to his own folk with a friendly feeling. But there is great room for improvement, and one of the ideals which should resound through our universities is that of sympathetic approach to the stranger. Moreover, knowledge as to races is being enlarged and classified by reason of the great extension of ethnological, anthropological and historical studies. In the larger universities are found experts who are studying racial problems, and more and more governments and mission boards and, in time, probably commercial houses, will require of those who are preparing for service abroad a training in ethnological matters, which will enable them to enter upon their work with greater insight into the characteristics of the races to whom they will be sent. Thus scientific knowledge, combined with a genuine humanism, will lead to a more

reasoned and secure international understanding. The most fatal attitude in those going forth to administer or instruct races of other colour is that of superiority, and the assumption that the whole world must be judged by our Anglo-Saxon ideals and civilization.

Of all the institutions of Western civilization the university is the most catholic in its nature. The churches use that term of themselves, but, unfortunately, they are divisive. They are separated from one another by creeds and social customs which are worked into moral convictions, and men look out from them askance at one another. But the universities of the world constitute a great federation of man, all united in the pursuit of learning and science. One object gives them common purpose, the discovery and diffusion of knowledge, and that knowledge is not claimed by anyone as being distinctively his own. All rejoice in the common good. A man from one university is given the freedom of another; the greater the scholar, the fuller the freedom. This common idealism, nurtured in and propagated by the universities of Western civilization, makes of them a brother-

hood not of blood or race, but of intellectual endeavour and spiritual purpose.

From the beginning, the university has had professional faculties in which are trained the physicians, surgeons, clergymen, lawyers, engineers of a country. What do we mean by the claim to practice a profession? It is to have the acknowledged right to live by a vocation for which adequate specific training and experience have been acquired. A profession inherits vast accumulations of knowledge and methods; it has entered into and sustains great traditions. A vocation is more than mere technical skill; it is based upon much wider knowledge. By a succession of men of learning and science knowledge is clarified, corrected, enlarged; it is preserved in great libraries; it is transmitted by the living voice of teacher and pupil. This is not a process like the handing down of poems by bards, or of occult arts by medicine men. It is maintained by the best minds at great charges to the public for apparatus, libraries, buildings. The student pays for his education probably not more than one-third of the financial outlay, and he is also a debtor to the brilliant men who, at the cost of sacrifice and labour,

have made him free of inherited knowledge. From the days of Hippocrates, the father of medicine, that profession has had its code of ethics which is binding on its members. Knowledge such as that concerning the body, if uncontrolled, might be dangerous; therefore, those initiated into the mysteries or technique of this profession, as indeed of all, are bound to use their knowledge for the advantage of those who ask their help. They must be neither quacks nor exploiters.

The professional man differs from the technician also in the scope of his work. A carpenter soon acquires the measure of skill he needs; hand and mind get trained before long by practice for the groove in which they are to run. There is not much opportunity for originality in the artisan as such. That first appears with the architect. He needs appreciation of beauty, imagination, the sensitive eye, to create the design and plan the structure which the skilled carpenter is to erect. It also costs society much more to prepare the architect than the carpenter, because his taste and judgment must be fashioned by the standards approved as best by the experience of the civilization in which he lives. Therefore, the

architect as a professional man owes more to the State than the carpenter. Will the individual architect, therefore, be better salt for society than the carpenter? Not necessarily, for the carpenter may have more wisdom in human affairs than the architect.

Strange as it may appear, university graduates are not always wise. Far back, shortly after the rise of universities in the twelfth century, the student was satirized as Nigel Wireker's ass, who, after seven years of study in Paris, brays as before.[1] But surely the traditions of a university and its studies do on the whole promote wisdom; they do develop ability to discern greatness in common things. Thomas Hardy lived in the little town of Dorchester, and his stories deal with the narrow and tame life of the country-folk of Wessex, of which he had this to say: "It was one of those sequestered spots outside the gates of the world, where may usually be found more meditation than action, and more listlessness than meditation; where reasoning proceeds on narrow premises, and results in inferences wildly imaginative; yet where, from

[1]C. H. Haskins: *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 393.

time to time, dramas of a grandeur and unity truly Sophoclean are enacted in the real, by virtue of the concentrated passions and closely-knit interdependence of the lives therein."[1] So different a world was it from ours brimming with ideals, complex with callings, throbbing with interests. But whether in the complex or the simple sphere, wisdom is the principal thing, and those who have learned it realize that the world of average folk among whom we live is full of human dignity, beauty and tragedy. Into it we go from our universities endowed with a measure of knowledge and skill, to practise, for the most part unseen of many men, our profession as doctor, clergyman, teacher, engineer, what not; and if we give scope also to our innate human sympathy, we shall find, as the days pass, wisdom maturing in our character to the end that we may mitigate life's tragedies and heighten its worth.

[1] *The Woodlanders*, 1926, p. 5.

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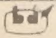

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